

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 01736

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, UNSC, WA, SF, AO  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SECRETARY'S DISCUSSION WITH ANGOLAN  
FOREIGN MINISTER JORGE

REF: USUN 1732

SUMMARY: THE FOLLOWING DRAFT SUMMARY OF THE  
SECRETARY'S DISCUSSION OF NAMIBIA WITH ANGOLAN FOREIGN  
MINISTER JORGE AND PARTY APRIL 30 IS TRANSMITTED FOR THE  
REVIEW OF THE DEPARTMENT AND FURTHER DISTRIBUTION AS  
DESIRED. END SUMMARY.

1. SECRETARY VANCE INVITED ANGOLAN FOREIGN MINISTER  
JORGE TO DISCUSS THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION APRIL 30 IN NEW  
YORK. JORGE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ANGOLAN UN PERMREP  
FIGUEIREDO AND MOFA POLITICAL DIRECTOR OLGA LIMA.  
AMBASSADORS YOUNG AND MCHENRY, DEPUTY ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY HARROP AND POLMIN PETREE ALSO PARTICIPATED.  
THE DISCUSSION LASTED OVER AN HOUR.
  2. THE SECRETARY OPENED THE DISCUSSION BY REMARKING  
THAT THE NAMIBIA PROBLEM IS AT A WATERSHED. WE HAVE A  
CHANCE TO MOVE THE PROBLEM FORWARD TOWARD SETTLEMENT, AND  
IT WILL BE A TRAGEDY IF WE DO NOT SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY.
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THE U.S. IS COMMITTED TO A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF THE  
EFFORT. HE STRESSED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SUCCESS IN  
THIS INITIATIVE IN DOMESTIC POLITICAL TERMS AND THE  
LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS OF FAILURE. HE ASKED JORGE HOW  
HE THOUGHT WE COULD GET OVER THIS LAST HURDLE TO AGREE-  
MENT.

3. JORGE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE INVITATION TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON NAMIBIA AND SPOKE OF ANGOLA'S COMMITMENT TO THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA AND THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO FIGHT FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE. HE ALSO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE WESTERN FIVE, WHICH HAVE PRODUCED POSITIVE STEPS FORWARD IN NAMIBIA. HE RECALLED HIS PREVIOUS MEETING IN LUANDA WITH MCHNERY. HE SAID SOME ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL CONCERN HIM AND REQUIRE CLARIFICATION.

4. CONCERNING WALVIS BAY, JORGE SAID NAMIBIA IS ENTITLED TO IT. THERE IS A DANGER THAT IF SETTLEMENT OF THE WALVIS BAY QUESTION IS POSTPONED UNTIL LATER, IT WILL BECOME AN INSTRUMENT OF PRESSURE OR BLACKMAIL AGAINST NAMIBIA. HE SEES NO SURE GUARANTEE THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD RELINQUISH ITS CONTROL OVER WALVIS BAY IN A POST-INDEPENDENCE NEGOTIATION. HE FEARED ITS POTENTIAL USE AS AN ECONOMIC WEAPON.

5. ON SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS, JORGE OBSERVED THAT SWAPO HAS ALREADY ACCEPTED THE FIGURE OF 1,500 RESIDUAL SA TROOPS DURING THE TRANSITION PROCESS, SO ANGOLA HAS NO COMMENT ON THAT POINT. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT SWAPO IS INSISTING THAT THE SA TROOPS MUST BE CONFINED IN SOUTHERN NAMIBIA RATHER THAN THE NORTH. ANGOLA HAS STRONG RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE USE OF GROOT-CONFIDENTIAL

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FONTEIN, AS OUTLINED IN THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, BECAUSE THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE HAVE LONG BEEN "BETRAYED" BY ACTIONS LAUNCHED BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS FROM GROOTFONTEIN. CONCERNING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, ANGOLA HAS NO COMMENTS, AND WOULD SUPPORT ANY SWAPO DECISION.

6. JORGE TURNED TO U.S. CONCERNS ABOUT THE PRESENCE IN ANGOLA OF CUBANS. HE COMMENTED THAT ONE'S VIEW DEPENDS ON WHO IS THE AGGRESSOR AND WHO IS THE AGGRESSED. HE SAID ANGOLA HAS NO DESIGNS ON NAMIBIA, AND THERE WILL BE NO INFILTRATION SOUTHWARD FROM ANGOLA INTO NAMIBIA.

7. JORGE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA, WHICH IS NOT CONSIDERED IN THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL MUST CLARIFY THE MANDATE TO BE GIVEN THE SYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, AS WELL AS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HIM AND THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL APPOINTED BY SOUTH AFRICA.

8. JORGE CONCLUDED HIS INITIAL REMARKS BY URGING THAT

IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE WESTERN FIVE TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORT. IT WOULD NOT BE ADVISABLE FOR THEM TO STOP NOW, SAYING THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE FINISHED. HE SAID THE FIVE CAN PRESS THE SOUTH AFRICANS FOR MUCH MORE. HE CALLED FOR "COORDINATED EFFORTS" TO FIND A FINAL SOLUTION.

9. SECRETARY VANCE RESPONDED, TOUCHING ON ALL OF THE MAJOR POINTS MENTIONED BY JORGE TO PROVIDE OUR POSITION AND PERSPECTIVE. HE CONCLUDED THAT ALL OF THE QUESTIONS RAISED ARE COVERED ADEQUATELY IN THE WESTERN PROPOSAL

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AND SHOULD POSE NO MAJOR OBSTACLE TO AGREEMENT, EXCEPT FOR THE KEY QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY. JORGE, REFERRING TO THE IMPLICIT NEGATIVE VETO HELD BY THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, ASKED WHETHER SOUTH AFRICA HAD ACCEPTED THE NOTION OF VETO. THE SECRETARY SAID IT HAD, THOUGH NOT THE WORD.

10. CONCERNING THE POWERS OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, MCHENRY SUGGESTED THAT WE MAY NOT HAVE MADE ADEQUATELY CLEAR TO ALL CONCERNED THE PROCESS THROUGH WHICH THE NAMIBIA OPERATION WOULD BE LAUNCHED. THERE ARE LIKELY TO BE AT LEAST TWO SC RESOLUTIONS, ONE ASKING THE SYG TO APPOINT A REPRESENTATIVE AND REPORT BACK TO THE COUNCIL AND ANOTHER PROVIDING THE SYG A MANDATE FOR TROOPS AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN. THE SYG'S REPORT ITSELF WILL BE DRAFTED BY THE UN, NOT EITHER OF THE PARTIES OR THE GROUP OF FIVE, SO ITS LANGUAGE NEED NOT BE TIED BY THE NEGOTIATING PACKAGE PRECISELY. WHILE THE FIVE HAVE HAD TO BE CAREFUL ABOUT LANGUAGE IN THE INTERESTS OF A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT, THE SYG'S STUDIES AND REPORTS WILL NOT BE SUBJECT TO THESE SAME RESTRAINTS. ALSO, SWAPO

WILL BE FREE TO ISSUE ITS OWN INTERPRETIVE STATEMENTS, JUST AS SOUTH AFRICA HAS DONE.

11. MCHENRY SAID THE PROBLEM OF THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA  
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HAS BEEN A DIFFICULT ONE FROM THE BEGINNING. THE POSITIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UN HAVE BEEN UNRECONCILABLE. THE FIVE HAVE TRIED TO BRIDGE THAT GAP THROUGH COMMISSIONER AHTISAARI'S POSITION. IT GAVE US A WAY TO GAIN COUNCIL PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS IN PRACTICE WITHOUT TROUBLESOME WORDS OR INSTITUTIONALIZATION.

12. JORGE ASKED THE SECRETARY HIS VIEWS ON THE TEN POINTS SUMMARIZED AS MATTERS OF CONCERN AT THE END OF NUJOMA'S APRIL 28 GA STATEMENT. SECRETARY VANCE SAID ONLY TWO OF THEM APPEARED TO OFFER SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS, WALVIS BAY AND THE LOCATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS. HE EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD GONE OVER THE TROOP ISSUE WITH NUJOMA AND BELIEVED THIS SHOULD NO LONGER BE A BASIC STICKING POINT. IF THE EFFORT FAILS ON AN ISSUE OF THIS KIND, IT WILL RAISE A QUESTION OF THE GOOD FAITH OF SWAPO. MCHENRY COMMENTED THAT NUJOMA'S INABILITY TO SAY PUBLICLY THAT ONLY TWO POINTS REMAIN TO BE SETTLED IS FRUSTRATING.

13. AMBASSADOR YOUNG COMMENTED THAT WE DO NOT YET KNOW WHAT NUJOMA'S REAL PROBLEM IS. HE RECALLED THAT IN LUSAKA NUJOMA HAD TOLD YOUNG THAT A U.S. STATEMENT ON WALVIS BAY WOULD BE SATISFACTORY AND LATER THAT SAME NIGHT HE HAD CHANGED HIS MIND. IN DAR HE AGREED ON A FORMULATION WITH THE SECRETARY AND THEN AGAIN PULLED BACK. NUJOMA SEEMS TROUBLED BY CONSIDERATIONS OTHER THAN THE PROBLEMS WITH THE PROPOSAL, AND WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT THOSE CONSIDERATIONS ARE.

14. JORGE RESPONDED ABRUPTLY BY SAYING HE HAD NOTHING FURTHER TO ADD. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR HEARING THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SECRETARY AND SAID ANGOLA IS  
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ANXIOUS TO SOLVE THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. A SOLUTION OBVIOUSLY WOULD HELP ANGOLA. ANGOLA HAS NO EXPANSIONIST IDEAS AND REALLY WANTS ONLY TO FIND A WAY TO DEVELOP THE COUNTRY FOR THEMSELVES. A SOLUTION WOULD NEUTRALIZE TENSIONS IN THE SOUTHERN BORDER REGION AND MAKE THE

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TASK EASIER.

15. HE WENT ON TO REFER TO ANGOLA'S CHOICE OF A SOCIALIST PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT, WHICH OF COURSE MAKES SOME THINK ANGOLA IS DEPENDENT ON THE SOVIET UNION. HE ASSERTED THAT ANGOLA IS COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT; THEY DID NOT FIGHT COLONIAL DOMINATION TO BE SUBJECTED TO ANOTHER, HARDER DOMINATION. YET, HE SAID, THERE HAS BEEN NO INITIATIVE FROM THE U.S. TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE OF ANGOLA.

16. THE SECRETARY SPOKE OF THE RELATIONS THE U.S. MAINTAINS WITH MANY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND SAID IDEOLOGY IS NOT AN OBSTACLE PER SE. HE SAID HE PERSONALLY HOPES OUR RELATIONS CAN CHANGE AND SUGGESTED THAT A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA MIGHT MAKE A START. IN RESPONSE TO A POINT MADE BY AMBASSADOR YOUNG ABOUT INTERNAL POLITICAL RECONCILIATION WITHIN ANGOLA, JORGE DELIVERED A LENGTHY HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MPLA, FLNA AND UNITA AND ANGOLA'S UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH ZAIRE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THESE OLD CONFLICTS.  
YOUNG

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## Message Attributes

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